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THE TRIBES AND CASTES OF BOMBAY

R.E. ENTHOVEN

IN THREE VOLUMES

VOLUME I



ASIAN EDUCATIONAL SERVICES
NEW DELHI ★ MADRAS ★ 1990

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Tribes & Castes - 1

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NOTE TO FIRST EDITION.

The present edition is intended for use in India. Vernacular terms such as *panch*, *shraddha*, *linga*, etc., have been freely used without explanation. It is proposed to issue an English Edition later, in which the results of the Survey will be dealt with in greater detail. The letter 'á' has the sound of 'a' in the word father. Other diacritical marks have been omitted.

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INTRODUCTION.

In May 1901 the Government of India issued orders for the commencement of the Ethnographical Survey of the Provinces noted in the margin, and proposed that the enquiries into the origin, social configuration, customs and occupations of the numerous castes and tribes should be spread over a period of four or five years. These enquiries were to follow closely the lines of certain questions approved by Messrs. Nesfield, Ibbetson and Risley at a Conference held in 1885.⁽¹⁾ They were to be carried out by the Superintendents in addition to their ordinary official duties.

It was not found possible to allow more than a few thousand rupees annually to each province for the work of the Survey ; and before the work was half done, i.e., in 1909, even this small financial provision was withdrawn. The Survey has since been practically dependent on the voluntary labours of the Superintendent in charge, with such assistance as he was able to secure without the expenditure of funds. This voluntary assistance has been forthcoming from three sources. Certain scholars such as Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar and Mr. B. A. Gupte have placed their knowledge at the disposal of the Superintendent and assisted the work of the Survey in the capacity of Honorary Assistants. A number of gentlemen have furnished valuable materials in the capacity of Honorary Correspondents. Finally, certain local committees organised by the Superintendent during the course of census operations in 1901 for the purposes of investigating and reporting on caste questions have supplied materials of considerable value and interest. With this assistance it has been possible

History of
the Bom-
bay Eth-
nographi-
cal
Survey.

Bombay.	Punjab.
Madras.	Burma.
Bengal.	Central-
United-	Provinces.
Provinces.	Assam.

(1) See Appendix at the end of this Volume.

to complete the Survey of the tribes and castes in the Presidency, excluding Sind, by the beginning of the present year. The work has involved the preparation of nearly 300 articles. These have been published in draft form and circulated for criticism before being finally embodied in the Survey record.

It may at once be admitted that the work could not possibly have been completed, even in this greatly extended period, had it not been for the very full materials available in the pages of the Bombay Gazetteers compiled by the late Sir James Campbell. Much of the work of the Survey has indeed consisted of the re-arrangement of these materials, which were drawn up originally on a district basis instead of dealing with tribes and castes as a whole. When compared with more recent information, the original district accounts have been found to be remarkably accurate in detail. With the assistance described, and in such leisure as was available to the Superintendent, in spite of the pre-occupation of more important official duties, a considerable amount of new information has been collected regarding the tribes and castes of the Bombay Presidency. The ensuing pages thus contain much new matter, though the main source of information has been found in the pages of the Bombay District Gazetteers, which contain accounts remarkable both for their fulness and accuracy.

Scope of
the work.

At the time of issuing the first of the draft Monographs, of which the complete series is now published in these volumes, I indicated that the tribes and castes recorded in the Census Tables of 1901, and numbering over 500, would be dealt with in three classes :—

Class 1, being those containing one hundred thousand members, were to be described as fully as possible ;

Class 2, being those between one hundred thousand and five thousand, were to be dealt with in less detail ;

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Class 3, being those under five thousand, were for the most part to be described merely by rearranging the materials on the lines of the Ethnographical questions.

This scheme has been adhered to. The only important departure from the general scheme outlined by me in 1903 at the time of publishing the first Monograph, dealing with the Ahir, is the omission of the tribes and castes of Sind. This and the following volumes include only tribes and castes found in the Presidency Proper.

In the course of revising existing materials for the caste accounts a number of new caste divisions have been discovered, both in connection with the groups inside which marriage is essential, and the smaller divisions inside which marriage is forbidden. These are referred to in this work respectively as endogamous and exogamous groups. They are of special interest as the interior structure of a caste is frequently valuable evidence of its origin. It has also been found that certain caste names are synonyms. Castes have in such cases been re-grouped. In connection with castes of converts from Hinduism to Islám, useful information has been obtained from the marriage registers of the *Kázis*, showing the cases in which intermarriage between such castes is allowed. Many Musalmán castes adhere to the Hindu practise of endogamy. Among those Musalmán castes which intermarry are found armourers, butchers, farriers, elephant-drivers, and similar occupational groups which are probably descendants of the camp followers of the Mughal armies. It is interesting to note that contact with the Muhammadan armies has left its influence in the greater freedom with which intermarriage is allowed. The social prejudice which prevents members of many Muhammadan castes from marrying outside the caste is a relic of the previously existing Hindu custom, such castes being clearly traceable to a Hindu origin before conversion.

Special
features
of the
Survey.

INTRODUCTION.

They are found chiefly in areas where Musalmán rule has stimulated conversion, either by example, as in Bijápur, or by force as in north Kanara, once under the dominion of Hyder and Tipu. A great deal of new information has been obtained regarding the interesting Lingáyats community, which is found to be based partly on religious and partly on caste distinctions. The late Dr. J. F. Fleet, C.I.E., supplied some valuable notes for this article, which forms the basis of a new account of Lingáyats contributed by the Superintendent to Dr. Hasting's Dictionary of Religion. The special interest of the community lies in the fact that it exhibits the process by which a religious movement, starting with the abolition of caste distinctions, develops slowly into a community of which the most recent converts adhere strictly to the non-intermarrying caste distinctions of their Hindu ancestors.

The Survey has brought to light a great deal of new information regarding totemistic divisions in the Deccan and Southern Marátha Country. The identification of Marátha guardians or *devaks* with Kanarese *balis* is an indication of a similarity of origin between certain castes and tribes of the Presidency which has not hitherto been suspected. The subject is one which will repay very careful study.

Tribe and
caste

Broadly speaking, the term tribe is used in these pages for a unit based on common descent as opposed to the term caste which is applied to a social unit founded on common occupation, common residence, common language or common political control. A social unit based on religion is described as a sect.

Origin
of caste.

A great deal of time and research has been devoted to attempts to arrive at an explanation of the origin of caste. I do not propose in the course of this brief introduction to recapitulate the various theories that have been put forward by numerous scholars to explain the origin and continuance of caste in India. It may, however,

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be remarked that, given the conditions which have prevailed in this country since the first Aryan invasion, a caste system involving the formation of a number of non-intermarrying groups must from the first have been inevitable.

From the dawn of history India has been subject to invasion by land and sea, and the invaders, who were themselves very probably of mixed origin, have seldom refrained from intermarriage with the heterogeneous population already established in the country. In the Institutes of Manu we find an attempt to classify the resulting units of mixed descent under different names. The process of admixture of blood has continued to the present day. Probably its influence was especially marked during the series of post-Aryan invasions between the third century B. C. and the sixth century A. D. By this time Aryan, Dravidian, and mixed Aryo-Dravidian castes were numerous. Intermarriage with the invading tribes such as the Ahirs, Gujars and other Scythian units must have led to a great complexity of racial types, each naturally tending to preserve itself from further admixture of blood, by forming a marriage group excluded by the purer groups from intermarriage, and itself refusing to countenance unions with those who were members of groups regarded as inferior owing to greater impurity of blood. Racial influence.

To the influence of race, in itself of great importance, would shortly be added the effect of varying occupations as the tribal units passed from the pastoral to the agricultural state, and from that to the practice of arts and handicrafts. Thus true castes were formed; but occupation would not ordinarily obliterate the racial distinctions already referred to. The occupational group would contain various ethnic groups remaining endogamous. In this way, if we start with the idea of descent, we can show the population in tribes divided into groups (castes) following different occupations; or, starting from the occupation, The influence of occupation.

we may show the caste including a number of different tribal groups. The Ahirs and Gujars, immigrant tribes of great importance, are now broken into many caste sections such as those found in the Shimpis, Sonárs, Sutárs, Chám-bhárs, etc. We may therefore show Ahirs and Gujars with their occupational divisions as forming part of the tribe, or the castes as a whole, with Ahir and Gujar as sub-castes. In both cases, the sub-divisions are the endogamous units.

Tribe and caste, therefore, are different ways of looking at the same social groups, the tribe being the forerunner of the caste. Unfortunately, the question of the correct classification of such groups is further complicated by other influences besides those of descent and occupation. Of these the principal are religion and domicile.

Religious
influences.

The effect of religious movements, such as Jainism, Lingáyatism, Islám and Christianity on social grouping is specially interesting. Jains, found almost entirely in Gujarát and Bombay City, usually form an endogamous division of the occupational caste, though dining with the Hindu element may be permissible. Lingáyatism is more complex. Starting with a repudiation of caste distinctions, Lingáyats have passed through several phases, the earlier converts coming in time to separate themselves from those who joined later ; and ultimately, as in the case of Jains, Lingáyats merely form an endogamous division of the Hindu group from which they were converted. This development will be found treated at length in the article on Lingáyats. Islám should not recognise caste ; but the practice varies. There are Muhammadan castes that marry with other castes of the same faith. There are many that will only marry within their own caste, though of course not with the Hindu members. Even Christianity has been a source of caste division in places ; for there are three caste divisions of Christians in Goanese territory, known as Bráhmaṇ, Chardo and Sudra ; and certain castes such as Bhandáris,

Kolis and Kunbis contain Christian sections that only marry within such sections.

Most important in its effect on caste formation is the influence of domicile and language. A portion of a caste separated by migration from its parent body tends to develop certain differences in customs, occupation or interests. Owing to the common tendency to exaggerate the importance of such differences which is a specially Indian characteristic, marriage with the original body of the caste is frequently abandoned on account of these small differences. In the past, no doubt, the difficulty of communication accelerated this process. Marriages with caste fellows separated by a lengthy and tedious journey from a remote section of the caste would tend to be of rare occurrence, and eventually be looked on as in some way contrary to caste practice, that is to say, as unlawful. The result can be traced in numerous cases where the sub-castes have a territorial name. A reference to the articles on Bráhmans and Vánis will show how numerous local groups of this nature are in Gujarát.

Mr. A. M. T. Jackson has drawn attention to the fact that a change of domicile on the part of a portion of a caste was peculiarly liable to create new sub-castes owing to the powers exercised by Hindu rulers over the caste organizations. As supreme authority, the king must decide questions of caste practice; and he might well do so in such a way as to create local practices at variance with the custom of sections of the caste under another jurisdiction. Here again the proneness of the people to attach undue importance to small points of difference would lead to intermarriage being abandoned between the sections of the caste under different political control. This is no doubt a good instance of the effect of domicile on caste fission. Mr. Jackson's theory will be found to derive much support from the close resemblance between the subdivisions of the two leading castes in Gujarát, the Bráhmans

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and Vánis, which have many of the same territorial names, and from similar instances quoted in the following pages.

In the Deccan, where in Hindu times political control was more uniform than in Gujarát, castes have retained a greater measure of cohesion. This has been preserved under Muhammadan rule, even though the Deccan was then divided between five, and subsequently three, kingdoms. These territories, unlike the early Gujarát States, were ruled by Muhammadan kings, who did not interfere in caste disputes. That Bijápur, Ahmednagar and Golconda have not given their names to caste divisions is not therefore evidence against the validity of Mr. Jackson's political theory.

The
essence of
caste.

It will be gathered from the foregoing remarks that caste is in reality a system of 'self-determination' based on the habit of attaching more importance to the differences between social groups than to that which they have in common. Social union is fostered and maintained by attaching importance to all that human beings, whatever their race, occupation or domicile, may have in common with each other. Social cleavage is inevitable when an exaggerated importance is attached to differences of race, occupation or domicile between one group of individuals and another. The barrier of religion may be expected to give rise to groups that will not intermarry, for it is based on fundamentals. But when to this is added an endless series of social fences erected on account of differences in origin, occupation or custom, it is inevitable that society should break into a number of self-contained elements to which there can scarcely be a limit. Too frequently the bar on inter-marriage and inter-dining, which is the essence of caste organization, is based on an assumed superiority of one group of individuals over another, so that, broadly speaking, the Indian caste system might be described as the most complete system of social exclusiveness that the world has ever witnessed. A

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common sentiment of Indian nationality might provide in time a sufficient motive for pulling down caste barriers. But in India habits and customs, readily formed, are adhered to with great tenacity. An inter-caste marriage law, now under discussion, does not promise to achieve any great measure of success. Recently inter-marriages have been recorded between endogamous castes such as Deshasth and Chitpávan Bráhmans. These, however, are exceptional; and there is no present indication that caste barriers on inter-dining and inter-marriage are likely to be rapidly removed.

The Survey, therefore, has had to deal with a number of groups which cannot accurately be described as being racial, occupational, sectarian or geographical though one or more of these influences has produced the group in each case. It is almost impossible in such circumstances to avoid cross-divisions when drawing up a list of caste units, particularly in the case of Lingáyats. The aim of the Survey has been to show in each case the groups that form endogamous units, combined for convenience of description under the heading of a major group which must in some cases be religious, *e.g.*, Lingáyats, sometimes occupational, *e.g.*, Vánis, and in rarer instances tribal, as for instance Bhils, Kolis, Káthis, etc.

It is of interest to note that when, owing to the influence of the four main causes of caste evolution already described, a group divides into sub-castes the process occasionally has two distinct stages. To commence with, a group that formerly allowed inter-marriage freely between all its members develops a section that for racial, functional or similar reasons hold itself superior in status to the rest of the group. This is shown by the former declining to allow their daughters to marry the sons of the other caste members, but accepting brides for their own sons from the main body of the caste. In the Punjab a great many castes are thus related to each other to the present day, and completely

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endogamous castes are of rare occurrence. In the Bombay Presidency the practice is less common; but it is found among Rajputs, Maráthás, Lingáyats and even among the lowest castes. Maráthás, who were once one with Kunbis, will still marry Kunbi girls in some parts of the Presidency. Lingáyat Panchamsális are divided into Jangams and Bánjigs, of which the former will marry the daughters of the latter after a process of initiation, though in no circumstances would they allow their own daughters to marry Bánjigs. Two such groups, of which the lower is known technically as hypergamous, will usually tend to develop into completely separate castes in course of time. The marriage of girls from the lower section is abandoned as soon as the breach between the social status of the two sections is sufficiently wide. In the writer's experience, one of the lowest castes of the Presidency, the Mahárs, developed an embryo new caste recently in this way, owing to a number of Mahárs having learnt to drive motor vehicles. The added wealth and prestige that this occupation brought with it showed itself in a "Driver" section, which was disinclined to continue free inter-marriage with the caste as a whole. It only requires time in such circumstances for the caste to develop a completely endogamous "Driver" division.

Primitive
and
foreign
elements
in Bombay
castes.

In the course of the work of the Survey, it has been possible to accumulate some interesting facts bearing on the extent to which primitive, *i.e.*, pre-Aryan as well as foreign or immigrant elements can be traced in the castes of the Presidency excluding Sind. The result of investigations in the southern portion of the Presidency, where castes are clearly organized on primitive lines, has brought to light a regular system of totemistic divisions of special interest and significance. These divisions are known locally as *balis* and are named after animals such as the elk, the hog deer, the elephant, the monkey, the tortoise, certain fish, and trees or plants, such as the banyan, pipal, screw pine, plantain, etc.

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There is a division named after the white ant's nest. These *balis* are exogamous, and display the usual totemistic features, *i.e.*, members worship the tree, plant, animal or other object, giving its name to the *bali*, on special occasions such as marriage or the occupation of a new house. They will not cut or injure it in any way, and in no circumstances may those who have a common *bali* be allowed to inter-marry. Children appear originally to have inherited the mother's totem. Later this system has been modified into one of tracing the totem through the male parent.

Further north in the Presidency we find that many castes show traces of having originally possessed a similar organization. There is a remarkable resemblance traceable between the guardians or *devaks* of the Maráthas castes in the Deccan and the *balis* of North Kanara. The same trees as, for instance, the *nágchampa* (*Mesua ferrea*) and screw pine (*Pandanus odoratissimus*) are found as *devaks* and as *balis*. In the article on Maráthas information will be found regarding these *devaks*. Being regularly worshipped, carefully preserved, and governing inter-marriages, they appear to possess the leading characteristics of totems. It is reasonable to assume that the *devak* with its suggestive resemblance to the *bali* is strong evidence of the primitive origin of at least an important element in the castes in which it is found. From this assumption very interesting results may follow. It is not possible within the limits of this brief survey to develop the argument to its logical conclusion; but clearly Maráthas contain a much stronger pre-Aryan element than has hitherto been supposed.

We are on more difficult ground when we endeavour to trace the remains of foreign elements in the caste formations of the Presidency. The late Sir James Campbell attached much importance to the survival of the names of post-Aryan invading tribes such as Yávans, Parthians, Ahirs, Gujars and Yádavs, or of the early ruling Indian dynasties, *e.g.*,

Maurya, Kadamba, Chalukhya, among the castes of the Presidency. It has been seen that Ahir and Gujar divisions are still found in many castes. Maurya, Kadamba and Chalukhya survive in the form of surnames, *i.e.*, More, Kadam and Cholke, among Maráthás, Kunbis, Mahárs and Kolis. But it is unsafe to attach much significance to names in India. They probably bear little more signification than the term "Shivajis" which was formerly applied by the English to numerous castes enlisted under the banner of the Marátha hero, that is to say, they indicate subservience to a common leader or dynasty, but do not connote common descent. The Ahir and Gujar elements stand on a somewhat different footing to the surnames; but it is impossible at the present day to arrive at the exact relation which such sub-castes bear to the original Ahir and Gujar tribes. The subject has been very ably treated by D. R. Bhandarkar in his study of the foreign elements in Hindu society, where both Nágar Bráhmaṇ and Sisode Rajput have been shown to have been Gujars originally. It is certain that inter-marriage with local elements has largely obscured the extent to which Ahir and Gujar have contributed to modern caste formations, even in cases where the name survives.

The general impression conveyed by the Survey is that the original foreign element in many of the castes has been greatly obscured by inter-marriage with the indigenous population. Even the Parsis, the most exclusive of immigrant castes, have admittedly mixed with the jungle tribes of Gujarát and the issue, until recently, has been admitted to the Parsi community. Ultimately we may perhaps be prepared to the conclusion that the tribes and castes of the Presidency have far more in common as regards their origin than has hitherto been admitted.

regular
unions.

The pages of the Survey contain much evidence in support of this contention. There is scarcely a caste that is not found to possess a section known as Akaramáshe, Bande, Shinde,

Dasa, Kále, etc., signifying that there has been irregular union either with women of a lower caste or with men of a higher one. The institutes of Manu allow seven generations of marriage within the caste to restore the full status to the issue of such a union. The evidence available tends to show that a much less drastic test was imposed in recent times. The Abyssinian Angria married a Marátha girl; and history equally records instances of Koli chieftains who have been allowed a similar privilege, the children being doubtless classed as Maráthás in both instances. For many years Marátha Kunbi women have served in Bráhma houses in the Konkan, the issue being classed as Shinde under Maráthás.

A good deal of space is devoted under each of the caste heads to a description of birth, marriage, death and other important social ceremonies. The conclusions to be drawn from a comparison of these ceremonies must await the results of a detailed study. There are certain special ceremonies derived from Dravidian castes in Southern India which tend to occur in the Deccan and thus suggest some connection with non-Aryan elements. Until recently the social status of a caste has been greatly affected by the prevalence of infant or adult marriages, and the existence or prohibition of widow re-marriage. It is of interest to note that, while low-castes have been endeavouring to raise their social status by introducing child marriages and abandoning the marriage of widows, a reform movement among the highest castes is aiming at a return to adult marriage and the re-marriage of widows. The development is one that may have far-reaching effects in the near future.

A number of reports have borne witness to the prevalence, among certain wild tribes and low-castes, of the practice of marriage with trees. The occasion selected is when a bachelor desires to marry a widow. In this case the unmarried partner first goes through the ceremony with

Birth,
marriage
and death
cere-
monies.

Tree
marriages.

one of the totem trees, *e.g.*, the *shami* *Prosopis spicigera* or *rui* *Calotropis gigantea*.⁽¹⁾ The tree is then cut down and destroyed. It seems probable that the tree bride is intended to form a spirit companion to the widow's first partner, who might, if not so satisfied, devote an unwelcome amount of attention to the re-married couple. This curious custom is in vogue in all parts of the Presidency. It is not to be confused with the ceremony known as *Ark-viváha*, *i.e.*, marriage with a *rui* bush, prescribed in the Sacred Books for Hindus who lose two wives, before they marry a third time. Most probably the primitive custom gave rise to the Hindu rite, which is restricted to special cases of marriages with third wives; but the original ceremony is clearly a spirit-scaring rite designed to protect a bachelor who marries a widow.

Anthropo-
metrical
opera-
tions.

In the early days of the Survey a trained operator was employed for a short time, under the direction of the late Sir Herbert Risley, in taking anthropometrical records of some of the leading caste types in Bombay. The number selected for measurement in the case of each caste was very small, and this in itself would render it desirable to view the results with caution. As they stand in their published form, they exhibit such an unexpected jumble of castes and tribes, whether placed by cephalic measurement or nasal index, that it is impossible to deduce from them conclusions of value. Risley was at one time inclined to the view that measurements recorded among the Maráthás afforded evidence of their Scythic origin. He based this conclusion on the discovery of broad-headed people in the Deccan. But measurements which bring together the Bráhmaṇ and the Mahár require a great deal of collateral evidence from reliable sources before they can safely be used as the basis of a theory of racial origin. A reference

(1) In some cases this tree must belong to a different village to the bridegroom's which shows that it represents a woman selected similarly from another exogamous section.

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to Risley tables⁽¹⁾ will show the Bombay castes or which measurements were taken grouped in the following order:—

A.—By Cephalic Index.

1. Deshasth Bráhmaṇ.
2. Mahár.
3. Chitpávan Bráhmaṇ.
4. Kunbi.
5. Koli.
6. Marátha.
7. Shenvi Bráhmaṇ.
8. Vánia.
9. Nágar Bráhmaṇ.
10. Prabhu.

B.—By Nasal Index.

1. Deshasth Bráhmaṇ.
2. Nágar Bráhmaṇ.
3. Shenvi Brahman.
4. Vánia.
5. Prabhu.
6. Koli.
7. Chitpávan Bráhmaṇ.
8. Kunbi.
9. Deshasth Bráhmaṇ.
10. Marátha.
11. Mahár.

It will be seen that in the first of these groups a low cephalic index is shared by the Mahár, one of the lowest castes of the Presidency, with the Deshasth and Chitpávan Bráhmans. This is at least disconcerting. The Mahár would not be expected in such strange company. Again, in the case of the nasal index, to which Risley at one time attached so much importance as to hazard the theory that a man's social status would be found to vary in inverse ratio to the mean relative width of his nose, we find the lead rightly taken by three Bráhmaṇ castes, which are followed by Váni and Prabhu. After that, the classification is very suspicious. The Koli is found above the Chitpávan Bráhmaṇ; the Marátha Kunbi above the Deshasth Bráhmaṇ; and both of these are higher in the scale than the Marátha. It is impossible from the known facts to find any satisfactory explanation of these two lists of precedence. Mahárs and Kolis must be as typical representatives of the early types in the Presidency as can well be found. Yet these measurements give them a place close to the Bráhmans, and even above the Deshasth. The Marátha is found below the Koli and

(1) *Vide* The People of India—Appendix IV.

the Mahár in cephalic measurement, and placed below the Koli by nasal index. His history and social position would lead to the expectation that the position should be reversed. Unfortunately, it has not been found possible, owing to the withdrawal of financial support from the Survey, to pursue these enquiries and test the recorded data by making additional measurements for each selected caste, or by measuring other typical castes not included in the scope of Risley's observations. This might have thrown some further light on the very curious results already recorded. If any theory at all is to be based on the Risley tables it would seem to be that the tribes and castes of the Bombay Presidency are much more closely connected, racially, from the highest to the lowest, than history, tradition, customs and appearance have hitherto led us to suppose.

Some
typical
castes.

It is my intention on some future occasion to deal in a separate work with the full results of the Ethnographical Survey. Within the limits of an introductory note space can be found only for a few points of special interest; and these have necessarily been very summarily treated. To illustrate the difficulties in which the classification of the people of the Presidency by tribe and caste is involved I will describe briefly a few typical groups representing important units of the population:—Vánis, Maráthás, Lingáyats, Bhils and Kolis.

Vánis.

The Váni, Banya or Bánjig is a trader corresponding to the Vaishya of the fourfold classification of Manu. As Vaishyas they claim a twice-born status; but here their common interest ceases, for they are divided into a large number of groups that will not intermarry. Of these in Gujarát, the following divisions are common to Bráhmans and Váni:—

- | | |
|-------------|---------------|
| 1. Agarvál. | 5. Jhárola. |
| 2. Desavál. | 6. Khadáyata. |
| 3. Gujar. | 7. Kapol. |
| 4. Harsola, | 8. Meváda. |

- | | |
|--------------|---------------|
| 9. Modh. | 14. Porvád. |
| 10. Nágar | 15. Shrimáli. |
| 11. Nandora. | 16. Sorathia. |
| 12. Osvál. | 17. Váyada. |
| 13. Palivál. | |

These being mainly geographical in origin, tend to bear out Mr. Jackson's theory of caste fission to which reference has already been made. These numerous groups contain Jain and Hindu divisions, known as *Shrávak* and *Meshri*, that will not intermarry. They have also divisions known as Visa (20), Dasa (10), Panch (5), Adhich ($2\frac{1}{2}$), representing an increasing admixture of some lower element.

In the Deccan the Váni caste is more homogeneous, only a few divisions being found, owing no doubt to the fact that political control has been more uniform in that area than in Gujarát.

Further South, the Váni is known as a Bánjig, and is generally a Lingáyat. As such, he will not marry with Hindu or Jain Vánis.

Maráthás are the chief unit in the Deccan and Konkan, ~~Marátha-~~ probably deriving their name from Maháráshtra, *i.e.*, the Deccan, and representing a tribe with some Northern elements but largely aboriginal. There is probably no substantial difference in origin between the landholding and warrior section, *i.e.*, Maráthás Proper, the cultivators, *i.e.*, Marátha Kunbis, and the numerous local occupational castes such as Marátha Vánis, Sonárs, Sutárs, Parits, etc. Intermarriage is not ordinarily allowed between these groups, although, in remote parts, Maráthás Proper will take girls in marriage from the Kunbi or Kulvádi caste. They will not marry their girls to boys of the Kulvádi caste. The Kunbi, again, is at times recruited from the Koli who settles down to agriculture and acquires a "Kunbi" or cultivator status. The rise of the Marátha power in

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the seventeenth century induced the fighting classes (landholders) to claim for themselves Kshatriya rank, and to discourage widow remarriage. It is chiefly on this ground that they claim to be superior to the Kunbis. But by descent the Marátha appears to be one with the Marátha Kunbi and certain other occupational castes in the Deccan.

Lingáyats. Lingáyats are a religious body dating from the eleventh century, when they separated from the Hindu fold by denying the authority of the Bráhman, rejecting the scriptures, and abandoning Hindu ceremonies and pilgrimages. Largely recruited from Jain traders or Bánjigs, these with their priests, known as Jangams, formed originally one body ignoring caste distinctions. Later converts, however, were in course of time relegated to an inferior social status thus giving rise to endogamous groups resembling the ordinary Hindu caste in exclusiveness, though adopting the special religious rites of Lingáyatism. Hindus and Lingáyats do not intermarry, even if they have a common caste name and occupation. The original rejection of caste distinctions has thus, it will be seen, given place to the formation of castes containing Lingáyats bearing the same relation to Hindus in such castes as the Jains in the Váni divisions of Gujarát bear to the Hindu members.

**Bhils and
Kolis.**

Bhils and Kolis are aboriginal tribes which probably do not differ at all in origin. They are doubtless the former inhabitants of the greater part of the Presidency, now largely confined to hilly or jungle tracts of country. The common bond between Bhils is one of descent, as is the case with Kolis. Changes of occupation and a certain admixture of foreign blood has led to the formation of a number of divisions in each case. Among Kolis we find divisions with the names of Ahir, Bhil, Dhangar and Marátha. Ahirs and divisions with Marátha names are found among the Bhils. Other primitive tribes besides Kolis, such as

Berads, have Bhil divisions. It has been seen that the Koli, by taking to cultivation, may rise to the position of a Marátha Kunbi. For the most part Bhils and Kolis remain good examples of purely tribal stocks. Inter-marriage with inferior Rajputs has in places produced mixed castes from both sources.

During the progress of the Survey the Superintendent has automatically become a tribunal for settling disputes regarding caste precedence. The circulation of the draft monographs led to the formulation of claims such, for instance, as those of Páñcháls to be classed as Vishva Bráhmans, of Sonárs to be described as Daivadnya Bráhmans, and of Vádvals to be admitted to rank as Páñchkalshis, or Somvan-shi Kshatriyas. Interesting documents have been produced bearing on these disputed points. Mánbhávs have been proved to be entirely distinct from the degraded caste of Mángs with which they were formerly supposed to be connected.⁽¹⁾ The Saváshe Bráhmans have established their appeal against their former classification as degraded Deshasth Bráhmans and have been reclassified as Sahavási Bráhmans. If in the decisions arrived at on these and similar points, the Superintendent's views fail to meet with general acceptance, it may at least be agreed in support of them that the evidence on both sides has been very carefully examined in arriving at these results.

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(1) A very striking resemblance has been brought to light between Mánbhávs and the ancient Christian sect of Manichæans (273 A. D.).

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INTRODUCTION.

Mr. P. J. Mead, C.I.E., I.C.S., has at intervals held temporary charge of the Survey, and, assisted by Mr. L. J. Sedgwick, I.C.S., has directed the work of compilation recently during my absence in England on duty. I have also received useful materials from Mr. O. Rothfeld, I.C.S., and the Reverend A. Wilkie Brown.

A special tribute is due to Mr. G. M. Kalelkar, who has been my Assistant in the work of the Survey since its commencement, and has carried out the heavy task of drafting caste articles with commendable skill and energy.

R. E. E.

June 30, 1920.

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